10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

304 Parents feel obliged to have a daughter's ears pierced. Very rarely, today, do they have a son's ears pierced."

[852] Formerly nearly always—today only occasionally—relatives are invited to a plentiful meal at the ruka of the child's parents on the day of the piercing, or very soon thereafter. No part of the child's body was ever painted or decorated with designs.

"TALCUM POWDER," DIAPERS

854 The only preventive of chafing known is frequent bathing. Hence the baby is usually bathed (set in a dish and water dashed against it) whenever its diaper is changed.

The baby's diaper is a piece of chamall—cloth woven by the women from homespun yarn. The expectant mother will weave a piece, double armstretch in length and one-fourth as wide, before the baby is expected. It is cut crosswise into three equal pieces. Should the baby arrive before the mother has woven a piece of chamall—"sometimes you know, a baby comes before the mother has reckoned it will"—or, if the mother finds she needs more chamall than she has on hand, she will cut up one of her own pieces of clothing (also made of chamall) and use it. A mother usually has two or three pieces of chamall as her own personal clothing, unless she is very poor. The informant added with some laughter, "When she has used up everything she has for diapers, or if she has not had anything to begin with, she will probably cut up her husband's poncho!"

The baby is laid upon the diaper, from under the arms to beyond the feet. The diaper is not drawn up between the legs, as diapers usually are, but its sides are folded over the baby. Then the baby is laid on another piece of chamall, one which reaches from the neck to beyond the feet. The sides of this piece are also folded over the body but cover the arms also. Next, the bottom ends of both pieces are brought under the feet, and a band is wound about the baby. When the baby soils itself, it is wiped with the under piece and then bathed and swaddled into a clean diaper. Soiled diapers are washed, dried, and re-used. "The baby has no diaper, no shirt, nothing on its body, like Chilean babies do; nothing except these pieces of chamall."

[291] The diaper of a child that walks is a skirtlike affair that reaches to the ankles (pl. 3, *3*). It is tied about the child's waistline with a band "like men use to hold up their trousers." Open ends overlap in front.

[777] In Alepúe area women keep an unused diaper in the ruka to bring good luck. "My mother kept one; I do; and I know other women who do." Moss was not used as diapers.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth, death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

777 782 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

[771] [793] [754] [789]

776 775 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

754 775 776

[756]

683 [811] [613]

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The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 648

Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

T A 525

The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

T A [777]